

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 1539

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG RO

SUBJ: ROMANIAN POSITION AT CSCE

REF: GENEVA 2294

1. SUMMARY: IN LIGHT OF US MISSION GENEVA'S APPARENTLY INCREASING DIFFICULTIES WITH SOME ROMANIAN POSITIONS AT CSCE (REFTEL), EMBASSY TOOK ADVANTAGE OF CONGRESSIONAL VISITOR EDWARD G. BIESTER'S PRESENCE TO GET FRESH READING HERE ON SITUATION. DURING LENGTHY APRIL 5 SESSION WITH DEPUTY (PRESENTLY ACTING) FOREIGN MINISTER GLIGA, WHO IS ALSO MFA COORDINATOR ON CSCE, ROMANIAN PREOCCUPATION AND CONCERN WITH FOLLOW-UP, NON-USE OF FORCE AND PEACEFUL CHANGE WAS EVIDENT (MEMCON FOLLOWS VIA POUCH). AS FOR TIMING, GLIGA INDICATED THAT WHILE GOR STILL INTERESTED IN A QUICK WIND-UP OF STATE II, THIS SHOULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED BY IGNORING OR DEFERRING THE STILL UNRESOLVED PROBLEM AREAS. INSTEAD HE URGED INTENSIFIED NEGOTIATION ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES AIMED AT TERMINATING CONFERENCE "SUCCESSFULLY". GLIGA HIMSELF
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SEEMED OPTIMISTIC THAT THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED REASONABLY

SOON. END SUMMARY.

2. GLIGA'S COMMENTS ON SOME OF THE SPECIFIC ISSUES CITED REFTEL, WHILE RATHER GENERAL, MAY BE OF ASSISTANCE IN ASSESSING CURRENT SITUATION AS SEEN FROM BUCHAREST AND IN CONTEXT OF PAST ROMANIAN EXPERIENCE. GENEVA MAY WISH TO USE GLIGA'S INVITATION TO INTENSIFIED NEGOTIATION AS PEG TO CONTINUE THEIR DIRECT CONSULTATION WITH GOR DELEGATION THERE, WITH WHICH GLIGA EXPRESSED COMPLETE SATISFACTION. EMBASSY ALSO WILLING TO FURTHER EXPLORE CSCE MATTERS HERE IN BUCHAREST, IF DEPARTMENT AND GENEVA FEEL IT WOULD BE USEFUL.

3. PEACEFUL CHANGE - IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC QUESTION FROM AMBASSADOR, GLIGA REFERRED TO TROUBLED BORDER CONFLICTS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSTANT FACTOR OF EUROPEAN (AND HE MIGHT HAVE ADDED, ROMANIAN) HISTORY. HE SAID GOR'S POLICY THEREFORE BASED ON NEED TO ACCEPT STATUS QUO WHICH FOLLOWED WWII AS BASIC CONDITION FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE RATHER THAN REOPEN ALL PAST DISPUTES. WHILE ALLOWANCE MIGHT BE MADE FOR "MUTUALLY AGREED UPON CHANGE IN ACCORD WITH PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW", DRAFTING WOULD HAVE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHAT WAS BEING REFERRED TO WAS "THE EXCEPTION, NOT THE RULE". IN CLOSING ON THIS SUBJECT, GLIGA CAUTIONED THAT "APPETITES SHOULD NOT BE WHETTED THROUGH CARELESS DRAFTING".

4. NON-USE OF FORCE -- COMMENTING ON THE NINE BASKET I PRINCIPLES, SO FAR ACCEPTED, GLIGA SAID ROMANIANS WERE MOST INTERESTED IN THAT REFERRING TO NON-USE OF FORCE AND THREAT OF FORCE, WHICH, GIVEN TODAY'S CONDITIONS, HAD TO BE MADE EXPLICIT IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY. HE RECALLED THAT RECENT EUROPEAN HISTORY HAD SHOWN THAT USE OF FORCE, UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, STILL CONTEMPLATED BY SOME STATES.

5. FOLLOW-UP -- GLIGA PLACED GREATEST STRESS ON THIS ASPECT, SAYING GOR SOUGHT "SIMPLE, BUT EFFICIENT INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM" FOR CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF WHATEVER PROBLEMS MIGHT REMAIN AFTER CSCE, AS WELL AS

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ANY NEW ONES WHICH MIGHT APPEAR IN FUTURE. GOR DID NOT DESIRE A EUROPEAN VERSION OF UN OR UNSC; HOWEVER, WITHOUT SOME MEANINGFUL MECHANISM, WHATEVER RESULTS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED BY THE CONFERENCE WOULD SOON BE DISSIPATED WITH STAGNATION THE END RESULT. GOR INTENDED TO ACT "WITH ALL FIRMNESS" IN THIS MATTER.

6. GLIGA ALSO TOOK NOTE OF HIS COUNTRY'S SOMETIMES SUSPICIOUS

ATTITUDE TOWARDS BIG POWER RELATIONS, CALLING IT A PRODUCT OF ROMANIAN HISTORY. WHAT GOR FEARED MOST WAS REPETITION OF THOSE WELL-KNOWN PAST OCCASIONS WHEN CERTAIN BIG POWERS CHOSE TO DECIDE FATE OF OTHER STATES WITHOUT CONSULTING OR EVEN WITHOUT REFERENCE TO INTERESTS OF THOSE VITALLY CONCERNED.

7. GLIGA MADE NO REFERENCES DIRECTLY TO VOLUNTARY CBMS, BASKET II LDC LANGUAGE, OR QRR SAVING CLAUSE, ALTHOUGH GOR FEAR OF SOVIET INTENTIONS AND, BY IMPLICATION, OF ANY INADERTANT INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, WERE EXPRESSED AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING MEETING. HE DID STRESS THAT ROMANIA FELT ALL CSCE DOCUMENTS NEEDED TO BE TREATED AS A WHOLE PACKAGE AND NOT AS IF SOME WERE LESS IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS.

8. COMMENT: WHILE SOME ROMANIAN POSITIONS AT GENEVA MAY BE EXCESSIVE (THEIR "NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER" AND THE RESES ON LANDLOCKED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES) OTHER CONCERNS APPEAR QUITE GENUINE, AND WHEN PLACED IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT, LESS UNREASONABLE. GOR SUSPICION OF A US-SOVIET SUPER-POWER "DAHK", DISADVANTAGEOUS TO THEMSELVES, HAS WAXED AND WANED OVER THE YEARS, BUT IS NEVER FAR FROM MIND. IT BECOMES AN EVER-PRESENT CONCERN AS CSCE DRAWS TO A CLOSE, WITH CERTAIN AREAS OF VITAL INTEREST TO ROMANIA STILL UNRESOLVED AND THE GOR IN AN EXPOSED POSITION SHOULD ITS KEY INITIATIVES CONSPICUOUSLY FAIL.
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